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be anything but final clauses, as the sense of the English and the originals show. E. g. I Cor. 1.28, 29 And base things hath God chosen, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are,⁸⁰ That no flesh should glory in his presence (=ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι); 11.34 let him eate at home, that ye come not together vnto condemnation (=ἵνα μὴ συνέρχεσθε); so Ex. 28.32, 35, 43; 39.7, 23; Lev. 20.26; 21.23; Num. 32.9; Deut. 17.17; 21.23; Judg. 9.54; I Kings 2.15; 6.6; 18.44; Isa. 14.21; 48.9; 65.8; Lk. 4.42; 12.40; Rom. 11.8 (cf. 10); I Cor. 12.25; 16.2; Gal. 2.19; II Thess. 2.11; Tit. 3.7, 14; Heb. 11.5; I Pet. 2.9; Rev. 3.11; 7.1; 12.6; 18.4. If the thought in these examples be compared with that in the *so that*-clauses (App. V), the difference will be obvious. II Chron. 36.22 is marked doubtful. It contains two *that*-clauses, one final and one consecutive. Ezek. 1.1 is identical, but is cited without question as consecutive. Job. 9.32, 16.3, and John 3.1 belong to the group discussed by Shearin on pp. 50-52 (see p. 161 of this paper). Ezek. 20.32 is probably an appositive or a relative clause.

Among the references (App. V) for *so that* consecutive clauses are included three that are conditional, *so that* having the sense of 'provided that': I Kings 8.25 There shall not faile thee a man in my sight to sit on the Throne of Israel; so that thy children take heede; (margin = "*Heb. onely if*") ; the corresponding passage in II Chron. 6.16 There Israel: yet so, that thy children take heede; and Acts 20.24.

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ESSAYS ON QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE
OLD ENGLISH POEM OF BEOWULF.—By Knut
Stjerna, Ph. D., sometime Reader in Archæology in the
University of Upsala. Translated and edited by John R.
Clark Hall, M. A., Ph. D. (Viking Club Extra Series, Vol.
III.) 1912. 4to. XXXV + 284 pp.

This is a novel kind of book. Countless treatises, great and small, in which the various *Beowulf* problems are attacked from the philological side, have been showered upon the world of scholars. There have also appeared a few minor studies of certain archeological features of the poem, not

⁸⁰ Observe in this passage the nice use of *which* and *that*, where the original makes no distinction. *Which* has more emphasis as a characterizing relative (*qualis*), the phrase being a striking statement, while in the following the stress drops in accord with the more normal conception. Note, too, that the alterations of word stress are natural.

to mention the cursory references scattered through some well-known handbooks. But here we find for the first time an exhaustive study of the complete Scandinavian archeological material combined with a systematic application of the knowledge thus gained to the elucidation of the *Beowulf* and its genesis. And it is a recognized specialist in Northern archeology that speaks to us in these pages. A brilliant scholar, in whom Montelius took an especial interest, for some time reader in archeology at the University of Upsala, Dr. Stjerna was prematurely called from his promising labors in the year 1909. But he left a notable record in the annals of a science in which Scandinavian scholars have gained an enviable reputation. During his short professional career he showed himself a wonderfully productive writer, a student of rare industry, learning, and a power of combination, which led him beyond the mere statement of facts to the working out of definite, fruitful conclusions. Those of his papers which relate to the *Beowulf* have now been brought together in this admirable English version, and it is safe to say that most of them have thus become really accessible for the first time, since previously they were more or less hidden away in a number of Swedish journals and two special publications dedicated to Montelius and Schück.

The scope of the investigations contained in this stately volume will appear from the titles of the individual essays. I. Helmets and Swords in *Beowulf*. II. Archæological Notes on *Beowulf*. III. Vendel and the Vendel Crow. IV. Swedes and Geats during the Migration Period. V. Scyld's Funeral Obsequies. VI. The Dragon's Hoard in *Beowulf*. VII. The Double Burial in *Beowulf*. VIII. *Beowulf*'s Funeral Obsequies. Three of the papers, it will be seen, include studies of burial customs, two are concerned with important phases of early Scandinavian history, and the remaining three contain, generally speaking, a comparison of certain groups of archeological finds with their literary counterparts in the Old English poem. One hundred and twenty-seven excellent illustrations and two maps accompany the text.

In the first (and earliest) of the papers Stjerna examines carefully all the allusions to swords occurring in the *Beowulf* and then enumerates the archeological parallels, i. e. the remains or reproductions (on bronze plates) of some twenty helmets found in the North. Two of them, by the way, belong to England, viz. the well-known Benty Grange helmet and another one from Cheltenham. Some of the helmets are surmounted by complete boar images, others show only the

upper part of the boar (the reduction being prompted by the desire to lighten the weight), and some are entirely without the ornament. A comparative study of this and similar characteristics enables the author to present the evolution of the helmet in five definite chronological series. The *Beowulf* terminology of the helmet points to the sixth and seventh centuries. More precisely, the poem deals with a still earlier period, when large boar images were worn, but its basic lays originated at a time when those images occurred in diminished form only or were entirely missing. Thus, the expression *swā hine fyrndagum / worhte wāpna smāð, wundrum tēode, / besette swīnlicum* 1451 f. serves to set forth the actual historical conditions. By an analogous treatment of the evidence, the swords described in the *Beowulf* are shown to belong likewise to the period between (about) A. D. 550 and 650. Particular attention is paid to the 'ring sword', the hilt, and (in connection with the much discussed phrase *ātertānum fāh* 1459) the damascened blade.

Interesting discussions of various other archeological items, e. g. linked gold rings, diadems (*under gyldnum bēage* 1163), javelins (*eofersprēotum* 1437), etc. are offered in the second paper. Even the 'good' *hafoc* of l. 2263 receives its share of consideration. By the discovery in one of the Vendel graves of the remains of an eagle-owl and a gerfalcon the fact has been established that falcons were tamed in Sweden as far back as the seventh century, probably for the chase. In England, on the other hand, trained hawks (or falcons) seem to have been unknown before the second third of the eighth century, see A. S. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (1912), pp. 275 ff.

A definite thesis is propounded and—we need not hesitate to add—convincingly proved in the short article on 'Vendel and the Vendel Crow' (originally published in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*), which has in fact already won the acceptance of some *Beowulf* scholars. Bugge had previously observed that the tradition of the fall of the Swedish king Ongenpēow in a battle with the Geats (Beow. 2924 ff., 2472 ff.) reappears in the *Ynglingatal* (*Ynglingasaga*, ch. 31), which mentions the slaying of King Óttarr (OE. Ōththere) by two Jutish earls, and had moreover pointed out that in the latter version the thrilling incident had been erroneously transferred to Óttarr from his father Egill (answering to the Ongenpēow of the *Beowulf*). The scene of the battle is according to the *Beowulf* in Ongenpēow's own land, i. e. Sweden, but in the *Ynglingatal* is shifted to Vendel in Jutland. Now Stjerna rightly argues that the cruel nick-

name 'Vendel Crow' given to the dead king (who was likened to a crow torn to pieces by eagles) cannot be a late literary invention, but must have originated immediately after the battle. As the king fell in his own land, the Vendel in question cannot be the large Jutish district of that name, but must be the place called Vendel in Swedish Uppland. Vendel is at present an insignificant church-village, some twenty English miles north of Upsala, but being favorably located for commercial traffic, it enjoyed a considerable importance in the Middle Ages. There are exceptionally numerous ancient cemeteries near Vendel, the principal one of which dates in its oldest parts from about A. D. 600 and was evidently the burial place of a great chieftain's family. It may safely be concluded that about the year 500 there existed a royal fortress at Vendel, and that a noble family resided there.

A more comprehensive study of the relation between the Geats and Swedes is contained in the illuminating chapter on 'Swedes and Geats during the Migration Period'. The migrations from Scandinavia to the South (of Europe) took place between A. D. 300 and 550 (to give exact dates), and resulted in a decided thinning of the population in southern Scandinavia, as is proved by the remarkable decrease in the number of graves. On the other hand, the southern European kinsmen of the Scandinavians sent, in exchange for reinforcements, large quantities of gold northwards. This importation is traceable from about 400 A. D. and continued for a century and a half. During that period there was a sharp contrast between the Northern (Swedish) and the Southern (Geatish) part. South of the great lakes there lived a relatively small, wealthy, civilized population, whereas north of that boundary line we find a people undiminished in numbers, much less cultured, but energetic and aggressive. The natural result was that the Northern people moved southwards and by dint of superior force and numbers made themselves masters of the land. "The attack upon the South compelled them to concentrate in Uppland, and from the sixth century inclusive up to the end of the prehistoric period the dearth of finds which had previously existed is followed by an over-abundant wealth of them. The prototypes of the objects whose forms now become the ruling ones in eastern and southern Scandinavia are however not found in Uppland only, but also in Norrland. The lines of communication going through Uppland from north to south, along the rivers Temnare, Vendel and Fyris, with the easternmost limits of the Mälar, become thenceforward the most important, and here—at Vendel, Upsala, Ultuna, Håga, Tuna and Hågeby (Björkö)—the great-

est and most striking finds have been made, and the religious and political headquarters grew up. This sudden increase in wealth was the result of the victorious extension of the power of the Swedes over the more southerly and richer borderlands, and their great influence was gained at the expense of the downfall of the independence of the Gauts. The overthrow of the latter was thus the great event in which the movements of the Migration period resulted in Scandinavia." (p. 72 f.)

To judge from the *Beowulf* and, indirectly, from the *Ynglingasaga*, the wars between the two tribes extended over a considerable period and were evidently called forth by natural causes of a serious nature. Of the identity of the Beowulfian *Gēatas* and the *Gautar* Dr. Stjerna is fully convinced. "It is difficult to conceive why the Swedes and (say) the Jutes should attack each other time after time on lands so widely separated. On the other hand it is quite natural that the Swedes should attack and subjugate the rich and comparatively weakly-defended territory of the Gauts." (p. 89.)

Of the Geatish districts the island of Öland is considered to have played an especially prominent part. It moreover exhibits according to Stjerna the geographical features which answer to the descriptions in the *Beowulf*. Thus the sea mentioned in connection with the wars (ll. 2380, 2473) is the Baltic, and even a direct allusion to the island is supposed to be contained in the expression *ēaland*, 2334. That the encounters themselves happened "on the water" (p. 91), is, of course, an entirely unwarranted inference.

It stands to reason that the *Beowulf* version is nearest to historical truth. In course of time, the traditions became confused, in particular 'Danified', and the place of the Geats was taken by the Danes and Jutes, as may be seen from the *Ynglingasaga* and—we may add—from the often quoted notice of Gregory of Tours, who represents Ch(1)ochilaic(h)us as a king of the Danes.

One of the most admirable essays of the entire volume is the one on 'Scyld's Funeral Obsequies' ('Sköld's Hädanfärd'), which discusses the archeological and, incidentally, the literary evidence bearing on the famous story of the passing of Scyld. About the beginning of the third century A. D. there was introduced (again) into the Northern countries the belief that the soul was released by death from the body and lived a life free from martial or other activity, together with other souls, in some distant place, a kingdom of the dead. With this view was associated the idea (found in many different countries) of a long journey by ship, boat, horse, or sledge, according to the varying physical surround-

ings of the people. This idea of death, which was imported from the south, conflicted with the old view of warfare in the life to come. A compromise between the two conceptions appears in the great moor-finds of this time, which show the dead gathered into one heap in conformity with the Southern view, but at the same time provided with weapons in anticipation of continued fighting. The evolution of the sea-voyage idea is then traced through three successive stages evincing a progressive spiritualization. 'Scyld's Passing' is a pure specimen of the ship burial customs of the earliest type, which Stjerna ventures to assign to a period beginning about the close of the fourth and ending about the middle of the sixth century. Archaeology can of course produce no real parallel. But the remains of the Vendel boat-graves (representing the second stage) remind us in several details of the *Beowulf* account. That the incident of Scyld's sea burial is an original and significant element of the story and not merely an addition made for the sake of dignifying and embellishing the narrative, is rightly insisted upon by the author.

An examination of the last three papers—highly stimulating as they are—would unduly prolong this review. Suffice it to mention an interesting result reached in the chapter on 'Beowulf's Funeral Obsequies'. The combination of corpse-burning and grave-mounds, as it appears in the *Beowulf*, is paralleled by the finds in the eastern part of South Scandinavia only, i. e. in Öland. An exact counterpart of the Beowulfian mound (*Biowulfes biorh*) is the royal barrow at Gamla Upsala, called Ödinshög; the two must have been contemporary. In this paper, by the way, and likewise in the one on 'The Dragon's Hoard' Stjerna goes too far in dwelling on (real or apparent) inconsistencies of the narrative and accounting for them by the assumption of an incomplete blending of duplicate lays.

The net result of Stjerna's investigations thus only briefly analyzed may be described as an emphatic confirmation of the Scandinavian character of our *Beowulf*. It is generally admitted today that the story material is largely derived from the North. But, if Stjerna be right in his interpretations and conclusions, much of the original "setting" also is retained in the Old English poem, or, in other words, the Scandinavian basic lays have left many more traces in the text of the *Beowulf* than conservative students hitherto dared to assume. With his characteristic precision the author occasionally draws a line of division between the original Scandinavian and the later English elements. "The Anglo-Saxon

share of the *Beowulf* was first and foremost that of working up the original lays into a single poem; but besides this, certain parts of the poem exhibit Anglo-Saxon alteration of the original material. At first hand this is true of the description of the fight with the dragon, where archæological monuments of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon character are mentioned in turn, while as regards language a decided difference has been observed between this and those other parts of the poem which have not the stamp of the Anglo-Saxon mind." (p. 85.)

As may be seen from the last part of this quotation, Stjerna's philological views of the *Beowulf* must be taken with caution. He does not always look carefully enough at the text and the context, some of his interpretations are not quite up-to-date, and he is liable to overshoot the mark in drawing far-reaching conclusions from certain literal renderings unduly insisted upon. But even in those cases where we are bound to disagree with the author, the value of his wonderfully rich material in illustrating the 'life of the times' remains unimpaired.

Dr. Hall, the well-known author of one of the most helpful translations of *Beowulf*, has rendered us a genuine service in bringing out this book, especially as he did not content himself with rendering the Swedish essays into English, but assumed the function of a conscientious and skilful editor besides. In addition to a general Introduction setting forth the scope and importance of the treatises, he has introduced numerous critical footnotes of distinct value, in which he puts the reader on his guard against doubtful or erroneous statements of the text. He has also contributed an excellent 'Index of Things mentioned in the Poem of Beowulf', taken, with some alterations and additions, from his translation of the poem.

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DE MET HET PARTICIPIUM PRAETERITI OMSCHREVEN WERKWOORDSVORMEN IN'T NEDERLANDS

door Dr. J. H. Kern. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel XII No. 2. Amsterdam, Johannes Muller, 1912. Pp. V and 319.

This work treats of the historic development of the compound tense and voice forms that are made by the use of the past participle in connection with some auxiliary verb. It